

233 the season usually coincides with lent, when milk, as an animal food, is prohibited to the Coptic Amhara, anyway. Sometimes a wooden trough ("gānda") is made out of a tree trunk, and after the cows have drunk, the sheep are permitted to use it. Milking is done in a very tightly woven reed container ("gerēra") "waterproofed" by smoking (then called "qwaḥa" or "chocho").

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691 Sometimes a large extended family will try to enclose a reserved pasturage for itself, by means of rock markers, within a "bota" that had been general pasturage. This almost invariably leads to litigation, but it is not rare in districts where landholding Amhara families of long residence feel very attached to a particular territory, e.g. in hamlets near Gondar (Awura, Addis Alam vicinity, Lidāta) and in the Lānz district of Shōa.

231 The cattle of the Amhara is the humped variety (Bos Indicus, or, Zebu), which has apparently replaced the earlier cattle of Ethiopia, the unhumped Bos Primigenius.⁶¹

The hump of the oxen is much prized, and they are bred for it, as well as for strength in plow-pulling, but there is no breeding to obtain good milkers. The predominant attitude is that of agriculturists, not of pastoralists. The hump of the ox is utilized in plowing, to keep the yoke from slipping off; in fact, in lowlands where horses are occasionally used for plowing, an artificial hump of straw, reeds, etc., is made to hold the customary yoke. The hump is also a choice bit for eating, "shānya
251
262 ājēgena" -- hump to the brave (warrior), still served to

61. Bettini, T. M.: Die Rindzucht in Italienisch - Ostafrika. Koloniale Volkerkunde, wien, 1944.

D. Traditional Methods of Investigation of Crimes.

694
[789] Two factors are noteworthy in the traditional method of investigating crimes. One is the use of the supernatural in tracing the criminal's trail; the other is participation of the Coptic church, once the suspect is caught. While recent, modern instructions from the central government try to suppress the former, neither factor has lost much of its power over the attitudes and beliefs of nearly all rural Amhara, even townspeople.

625
691 a) The thiefcatcher, "lēbashay", recently outlawed officially, was a hereditary office, passed from father to son, thus entrusted only to Amhara (or other Abyssinian Branches). This inheritance, however, much like inheritance of feudal fief ("gult"), had to be re-acknowledged in every generation. The heir, grown to maturity, would take his father's medicine bag, "korojo", travel to the head "lēbashay" at the capital (of the province or country), and request renewal of license. This license could be withdrawn at any time, on complaints from the local headman, the cheqa shum, that the thiefcatcher had become corrupt, e.g. that he was in league with thieves and was so unsuccessful that he must be using fake medicine.

789
694 The magic involved in the procedure was "sympathetic magic", for the effort made was one of acting out all of the movements of the thief, from re-enactment of the crime itself, on the spot where it was committed, tracing his trail of flight, eating where he ate, and even resting in a state of sleep to indicate when and

625 khaki shorts and with shoes, are now made responsible for guarding the peace.

E. Litigation

691 The Amhara, especially the male, is trained not to suffer any injustice silently (unless temporarily powerless before a "great man"). No matter how lowly his socio-economic class status, he loves to engage in litigation. Observers have sometimes described it as a national pastime. Even children at play argue (fictional) cases, with enthusiasm, debating their cause before their own "judges", draping and undraping a rag from their shoulders, much like adults do their toga, in this activity.

693 A man is proud to be regarded as one who "speaks well in court". Therefore, he will be ashamed to let another speak for him, and the legal profession flourishes only in Addis Ababa before modern courts, in which modern laws are involved, using European (Greek, Armenian, etc.) lawyers. However, a woman or a timid man, or a timid ex-slave could hire a man who "speaks well in court".

This debate is followed in both civil and criminal cases, before the "danya" or "wombär", and every individual involved, including the guarantor "(was)", cheqa shum, lebashay, etc., have an opportunity to argue as well as testify.

691 Typical cases most frequently heard are debts, small thefts, improper measures at the market, plowing across a neighbor's border ("wasän gafi", i.e. border-pusher), grain eaten by a neighbor's cow, and the severity of mutual insults that had been exchanged during a hostile argument. Details argued about are often petty, such as: how good was the fence; just how much grain was eaten; how much was actually consumed?

579 More serious is the loss incurred from the outlaw bandit, traditionally called "bär zägi", (lit. the one who shut the gate), or "dur gäbba" (the one who fled

685 to the bush). The most frequent case involves debtor and creditor. Until very recently, the creditor could chain the debtor to him, and in rural areas one sometimes still sees their togas knotted together. This was uncomfortable for the creditor who had to feed the debtor. Even now that chaining is not permitted, a plaintiff still has to feed the defendant he has caused to be placed in jail (e.g. for theft) while awaiting trial. While he feeds him little and often spoiled food, he must keep him alive, and this acts as a deterrent against light accusation, except on the part of a wealthy "great man" accuser.

695
701 Special gestures, bodily motions, and drappings of the toga are still followed in the traditional way when going "bedanya fit", before the judge. The toga is draped ready for action, so that the accuser, or witness, can hold one corner at arm's length, step forward with heavy tread, and wave the bunched end of the em-

695
661 er court, if he felt he had the means. In this case
the judge might sometimes not appropriate the wager for
fear of having to surrender it again later.

539
691 There are numerous proverbs characterizing roles
in litigation, and counseling behavior and decisions to
be made in certain situations:

"The young lawyer,
in the beginning he acclaims to heaven;
later on, he will look to the ground"

(Moral: always choose an old, experienced
lawyer, with many reserve tricks up his
sleeve).

"Don't seize the tail of the leopard;
but if you did, don't let go."

(Meaning: Don't go to court against a good
talker, or "great man", or wealthy adver-
sary; but once started, fight as hard as
hard as you can, or else he will ruin you).

"Even if you know how,
against the judge do not debate".

"Judge, why your partiality?
the loser must pay you (anyway)".

"One witness need not make you tremble,
(just as) a one-eyed (person) cannot dance well."

[17] The pattern of the wager resembles, in part, that
of the "khabdh" of Arab bedouin.⁷⁶

X 794
756
556 A poor woman will perform work such as serving coffee, sweeping, fetching water and fuel, cooking, baking, brewing beer, and spinning cotton thread in the house of the sar doctor.

X 794
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776 The contract arranged by the sar doctor with the sar spirit for each patient devotee is regarded as having legal validity. In exchange for regular gifts and services the sar spirit promises limited repossession, at regular intervals only, and self-restraint in contagion of other members of the family of the patient at least until after her death. After that event the sar spirit may pass on to the next generation to assure himself continuation of the preferred gifts.

X 794
776 Complications are explained away on the grounds that there has been some trifling oversight in payment of dues or in respect; or on the grounds that another, evil, sar has "stolen" the dues in order to make trouble. The sar doctor never admits to error; instead, he restores the contract by instructing the possessed to dance the "gurri" of atonement ("yābater gurri") (lit. of the stick) if guilty; or the "yānehrat gurri", dance of mercy and acquittal, in case of slight oversight. Some sars are as fond of litigation as most Amhara. One sar spirit is nicknamed "wās aggach" because he always requires a personal guarantor, "wās", whom he will "possess" in place of the patient in case of default in payments.

[691] X 794
694 Even the judicial authorities, the provincial judges among the Amhara, will occasionally recognize sar possession as a valid excuse for violations of the law, or at least as a mitigating circumstance. Failure to appear in court to answer a summons may be forgiven on the grounds of "agorra" (lit. he roared, shrieked, i.e. is under possession) that particular day. The only other equally strong excuse would be that the person summoned had just taken kosso purgative.

(MANZ)

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*175 nable. As the rainy season was approaching, Haile Malakot retreated to Shoa,
643 where he fell sick and died. For the first time since Nagässi, Shoa was left without an effective leader. Tēwodros marched into Manz from Wallo, and Shoa capitulated with little struggle. Eleven-year-old Menelik, son of Haile Malakot, was taken hostage.

Ten years later Menelik escaped from the camp of Tēwodros and regained Shoa. Slowly and carefully he built up his power. Tēwodros' reign raced to its tragic end. Takla Giyorgis II reigned briefly at Gondar, the last emperor to sit there. Yohānnes IV of Tigre governed the country for seventeen years. When Yohānnes died, Negus Menelik was forty-five and ready. Nagässi's seed, eight generations later, reached the throne of all Ethiopia on November 3, 1889.

CULTURAL PROFILES

*175 *The Manzē Ethos*

185 The goals of Nagässi and his descendants, apart from simple increase of power, were to recover the lands taken from their fathers and to stiffen the authority of Christianity in Shoa. Their success was virtually unbroken by
[181] reason of exceptional soldierly prowess and political perseverance. These are ideals and qualities embodied par excellence in the people of Manz.

423 Sanctity of *rīst*, or land inherited from one's parents, is a cardinal value in
181 the Manzē scheme of things. Such land must not be given or sold to anyone who is not a close relative. People generations removed from actual residents
[428] of Manz still retain claims to family land there, still cherish the idea that if they so desired they could go back and live on it. As an urbanized Manzē once told his nephew in Addis Ababa: "No matter how far you travel abroad, no matter how long you stay away, you will always be able to think of your
[539] family land in Manz as your true home." This sentiment is expressed in a proverb:

Ya-Manz rīst be-shi amatu/la-bālabētu.

Manz *rīst* to the thousandth year/belongs to the owner.

A squatter may fight to keep his land from falling to some stranger who claims it as having belonged to his grandfather, but in his heart he respects the values that support such a claim.

[577] By Manzē standards the good man is thus one who defends the land of his fathers, seeing that it is not sold to outsiders or that foreigners do not come to
[685] take it. If someone plows another's land without permission, he must be punished. If the matter can be settled through litigation, well and good; if it requires recourse to violence, so be it. To let such an offense go unavenged
• [691] would be the worst sort of shame. Grievances concerning their "hereditary

[MANZ]

39 / *The Legacy of Manz and Gondar*

estates" make up the most common subjects of litigation in Manz, and hardly a day passes in the courts there without a hearing on some case about *rīst*.

The Manzēs are as stubbornly loyal to their fathers' faith as they are to their land. They take much pride in the strictness with which the Orthodox fasts are observed in Manz, and in the fact that non-Christians are not to be found there. A number of legends told locally represent Manz as an especially hallowed Christian territory. One legend says that after the Crucifixion the angel Uriel gathered some of Jesus' blood on his wings and flew to Manz. Standing on the hill of Dabra Qopros in Māmā Meder, he shook his wings and thereby sprinkled the holy blood over the entire area. Another story dates the sanctification of Manz by the blood of Jesus to the time when a portion of the true Cross was brought to Ethiopia and tells of how on the way to its repository at Gishēn Māryām, in Wallo, some drops spilled from the relic onto Manz soil.⁸⁷ Still another legend relates that the Virgin Mary abjourned in Manz when Jesus was a young boy. Lake Alo Bāhr in western Gērā Meder is said to be the product of Mary's wrath—her punishment of the people who lived on what was dry land at the time for judging against her in a dispute with a local woman.

To defend his land, church, or honor, the typical Manzē is ready at short notice to fight to the death. In their own eyes, as in the eyes of others, the men of Manz are reputed for hardness and combativeness. *Mot ged yallam* ("Never mind about death!") is the motto one governor from Manz volunteered as the key to the ethos of his people. The Manzē wants his son to be *guabaz* ("brave") and uses this term, like that of *watādar* ("soldier"), as a favorite compliment. The names which are characteristically given to children in Manz express this determination:

<i>Ahiḏḏ</i>	"Thrasher"	<i>Goshemē</i>	"Shover"
<i>Asdangat</i>	"Frighten"	<i>Latybalu</i>	"Let Them Bow"
<i>Asāmantā</i>	"Don't Hesitate"	<i>Mān Yāxhāl</i>	"Who Orders You?"
<i>Balātchaw</i>	"Give It To Them"	<i>Nādaw</i>	"Wipe Him Out"
<i>Balāy-metū</i>	"Hit On The Top"	<i>Tālārgē</i>	"Powerful"
<i>Chabudē</i>	"Squeezer"	<i>Tāsaw</i>	"Smash Him"
<i>Chafcheḑē</i>	"Hacker"	<i>Weqātchaw</i>	"Thrash Them"

Female names in Manz sometimes reflect this virile emphasis; for example, *Hijībātchaw* ("Go Against Them") or *Asugadatch* ("She Makes Them Bow").

A common symbol of physical bravery is the *dulā*, a hardwood staff about three feet long. The Manzē is rarely seen without his *dulā*. It has many purposes—to brace his shoulders on long treks, to carry loads, to ward off dogs when he goes visiting, to support his body while listening to litigation or standing at the long church services.

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streets, "he salutes him with his left hand, which is a mark of contempt."⁴¹

The Falasha, potters and metalsmiths of Judaic faith, were similarly segregated, and plied their arts and crafts in another quarter.

Though many different peoples came together in Gondar, and though it was a meeting-point of trade routes from the Sudan, the Red Sea ports, and the African interior, Gondar's cultural role was not primarily that of a melting pot of diverse traditions. It served rather as an agent for the quickened development of the Amhara's own culture.⁴² And thus it became a focus of national pride. The countryfolk looked on Gondar not as a hotbed of alien custom and immorality, as they often regard Addis Ababa today, but as the most perfect and advanced embodiment of their own traditional values.

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The Gondarē himself, as denizen of this second Jerusalem, was prouder still. A snobbish pride became one of the conspicuous marks of Gondarē character. This pride is manifest in many ways. On the one hand, it appears as incorrigible vanity. Hence arise the many caricatures of the Gondarē—as one who goes hungry in order to purchase fine clothes in which to strut about, or as one who satisfied his hunger at home before going out in order not to appear needy at his host's table. (Perhaps the most famous of the stories about the Gondarē is the one about the man who spent the night naked and shivering because, for form's sake, he hung up his only garment as a curtain about himself.) On the other hand, Gondarē pride appears as the immense dignity with which the Gondarē carries himself, his sensitivity to the nuances of personal relations, his choice use of the Amharic language, his noble bearing. If there is a polarity in Gondarē life comparable to the Manzē polarity of bravery versus aggression, it is pride versus vanity.

Gondar's role as political and cultural capital of the nation for so long produced two other distinctive aspects of the Gondarē ethos. One is the love of *shumat*, or political appointments. Despite the unfortunate denouement of the Gondar monarchy, Gondar's importance as chief administrative center for such a long period had a deep influence on the ways of the people. "Give the Gondarē any office whatsoever," it is said, "and no matter what the salary, he will be happy."

The Gondarē's love of *shumat* is expressed in two phenomena which contrast strikingly with their Manzē counterparts. In the naming of children, the Gondarē prefers names which express an ambition for political honors, such as *Maḳonnen*, meaning "nobleman," and *Negusē* ("my king"). Furthermore, litigation in Gondar is characteristically concerned with disputes regarding *mādariyā*, land which has been given as an award for service to the government, as well as with disputes over *rist*.

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• [691]

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The other prominent aspect of Gondar's ethos relates to its position as the center of Ethiopia's Christian literati. The fact that it was the ecclesiastical capital of the country is not the most important consideration here. Of course,

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games with sticks and cloth, or wooden, balls. The adult males may do odd jobs around home, such as loading and moving bags of grain, or repairing farm equipment. But they are likely to gather at some convenient spot, perhaps at a boundary between fields, and discuss land disputes, arrange marriages, reconcile quarrels, or tell stories.

The daily activity of the Amhara peasant is somber and severe. It is guided by the constant awareness that one must provide for oneself everything he needs in this world. His is a life of deadening exertion, devoid of casual gaiety. Even in his diversions the mood is generally serious and tense.

One of the Amhara peasant's principal diversions is litigation. On days when heavy labor is forbidden the judge's yard is filled; nor is it ever empty on work days. Some peasants spend as much as twenty to twenty-five per cent of their waking days at court. (Because of its importance in Amhara culture, litigation will be discussed at greater length in later chapters.)

Going to market is another diversion. The trip is made by the peasant or his wife, or both, according to the needs of the household. The wife usually is responsible for transactions dealing with cooking equipment and spices, the husband for animals and farm equipment, while either is competent to negotiate about the great common denominator of Amhara life—grain. Exchanges are made either by barter or currency, which in olden times consisted of salt bars, pepper, and iron, as well as silver.

The market provides an occasion for seeing distant relatives and friends, catching up on the latest news of the area, and generally countering the normal isolation of the peasant's life. It is especially stimulating for children, who may be treated to a piece of sugar cane if they are lucky. But the marketgoers are less absorbed with being sociable than they are with the serious business of locating the items they lack, haggling over the terms of exchange, and getting on the trail in time to arrive home before dark.

Finally, the peasant's day may be devoted to one of the many celebrations that constitute the brightest moments in his life. Huge feasts are held on the occasion of weddings, christenings, and memorial anniversaries. Feasts and special festive activities mark the various religious holidays. Indeed, apart from the alternation of the rainy season (June-September) and the long dry season, and the related alternation of planting and harvesting the different crops, it is the cycle of holidays and weddings that defines the pattern of the Abyssinian year. Yet even these holidays have a fundamentally serious tone. Apart from the feasting, they are chiefly times for the veneration of sacred symbols and the real or symbolic letting out of aggression.

The Yearly Cycle

The new year falls on St. John's Day in September. For this occasion the floor of the peasant's home is strewn with freshly cut grass, tall and green after

230 / WAX & GOLD

155 a matter of course. In the more covert forms of expression, however, insulting
 521 is a favorite practice among Amhara. Ambiguous language and obscure
 598 allusion make possible a good deal of socially admissible, and admired, insult-
 [195] ing. It is chiefly due to his mastery of this genre that the Amhara have come
 [554] to idealize Alaqā Gabra Hännā who, in the words of a psychologically sophis-
 ticated Ethiopian informant, by "skillful use of 'wax and gold' has defiled
 everything that is sacred in Abyssinian tradition: this includes Mother, God,
 Emperor, and Patriarch, to say nothing of the ignorant clergy, peasantry, and
 slaves. Gabra Hännā . . . is the summation of the oral aggressive trend in
 every Abyssinian, of which the *dabtarā* in the king's court and the singer in
 the drink-house are only mediocre representations."

155 Wax and gold is, furthermore, the vehicle for the mode of expression which
 598 Erikson calls "oral retention." Just as the Amhara tends to be tight-lipped
 [195] and evasive when confronted by questions he does not feel like answering,
 so he finds pleasure in stubbornly withholding his meaning from his audi-
 ence through employing figures and allusions which no one can understand.
 This may be understood as a passive form of oral aggression. For the un-
 tutored, however, the active aggressive component is probably more satisfy-
 ing. Most Amhara males look forward to occasions when they can insult
 with impunity, such as in victory after the games at Christmas or in the
 setting of a drink-house, where their skillfully improvised verses are repeated
 and sung by a minstrel. The oral sadistic spirit of this latter scene has been
 captured with great fidelity by a contemporary Amhara novelist. Describing
 the moment in a drink-house when the minstrel begins bowing his one-
 stringed violin and gets ready to accept verses from the crowd, he writes:
*"And now every one of them prepares a bullet of verse, and gets cocked to
 fire veiled insults."*¹⁸

155 Two-way communication among Amhara is frequently colored by a biting
 521 and intrusive manner as well. Amharic conversation gravitates toward a
 highly argumentative style. Casual disagreement, or even neutral deliberation
 over a common problem, often engenders a kind of protracted bickering
 to which the Amhara have given an onomatopoeic name, "*chigechig*." In
 • [61] its more institutionalized form, this argumentativeness becomes litigation,
 which has long been regarded as the national sport of Abyssinia.

691 As the primary means of distributing land-use rights and of reducing the
 182 likelihood of resort to violence in personal disputes, litigation serves functions
 of unmistakable importance in Amhara society. Yet the frequency and in-
 tensity with which Amhara take part in litigation suggests that it is moti-
 vated by non-rational factors in good part. Litigants have often lost many
 times the original value of some item under dispute in the course of pursuing
 litigation over it through the courts for many years. The language and color-
 ful gestures of the court may be observed among Amhara in their homes or

231 / *Orality and Leadership*

at social gatherings in the course of discussions about nearly any subject. One cannot but conclude that the Amhara litigate to a large extent because for them it is an intrinsically pleasurable activity. At times, in fact, the forms of litigation are acted out as in a game. *Tesfayaq*, for example, analogous to the Western process of cross-examination and a beloved feature of traditional court procedure, is sometimes practiced at parties though it has been outlawed in modern courts.¹⁸ Two men will face a "judge" and try to bedevil each other with sly questions and preposterous claims. The content of the dispute is of no matter; it may be sheer nonsense.

Amhara litigants are ingenious at expressing themselves. They do so with gestures, intonation, and timing that achieve considerable dramatic effect. They are delighted to perform at the slightest provocation. The following incident, recorded during a morning at court in Manz, illustrates that dimension of Amhara litigation which consists of the inherently gratifying expression of oral aggression:

The defendant had been accused of plowing the plaintiff's land without permission. In fact, however, the plaintiff had given the defendant previous permission to plow there—in front of a group of elders who testified accordingly. The judge therefore ruled against the plaintiff. The plaintiff said he would appeal this decision, because the permission he granted had not been registered in the governor's office; and, besides, he had some other complaint to bring against the defendant.

At this point someone in the audience rose and said: "That is all. The judge has ruled against you, and the case is finished." Whereupon the plaintiff told this speaker that he should keep quiet, that his speaking out was against the law, that he had bothered him when the case was tried before a lower level judge previously and should bother him no more. Instead of hushing up, the speaker left his position against the wall and stood next to the defendant, asserting that he would speak in behalf of the latter.

The plaintiff then accused this man of talking out of turn. The judge acknowledged this accusation and called for witnesses. Instantly half a dozen or more men jumped to their feet, eyes bursting with excitement and pride as before a battle, and volunteered to witness against the speaker. One by one, with a great show of oratory, they said their pieces against the man who had spoken out of turn. More than once the judge had to urge these witnesses to stop talking after the evidence had been presented. By this time the substance of the original dispute seemed to have been completely forgotten.

Oral Ambivalence

Much as the oral zone is favored by the Amhara as a center for positive gratifications, both of the passive-receptive and the active-aggressive sort, such

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(519)
(524)
(695)
(178)

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FIG. 34.—Offering a *gumbi*.



FIG. 35.—Singing out the master's *qunä*.

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FIG. 36.—*Amhara liganti* [P. 238-A]

*121 Spontaneous co-operation is most in evidence among the Amhara at times
 181 of crisis. When death is announced, relatives and friends promptly repair to
 571 the home of the deceased and offer their help. They build the coffin and con-
 [764] struct a *därs* (a temporary shelter near the house to accommodate all the ex-
 pected visitors). They bring food and drink to help provide for the many who
 will come to pay their respects, and will similarly provide help on the occasion
 of the big memorial feasts to follow. Like assistance is rendered during other
 crises, such as prolonged illnesses or fire. Such forms of co-operation set
 another significant limit to egoistic orientation among the Amhara.

*121 It is in the realm of interaction involving serious interests, touching
 181 layers of the personality deeper than those required for the formalities of
 156 etiquette, that Amhara egoism is most conspicuous. Here everything seems to
 571 conspire against generous communication and concord of opinion. As we have
 578 already observed, the Amhara are quick to become argumentative in ordi-
 • 691 nary conversation. *Litigation* is one of the most prominent forms of inter-
 action among the Amhara. One can scarcely spend a day in the Amhara
 countryside without encountering litigants, whether under a tree, at a
 marketplace, or in the courtyard of some lord. A nobleman can never travel
 about the country without being accosted on the way by litigants anxious to
 have him hear their stories.

*121 Litigation is, of course, an endemic feature of peasant civilizations. Yet
 181 there can be no doubt that for the Amhara this form embodies a basic psycho-
 571 logical disposition that differs from that of the people of other peasant civiliza-
 578 tions. In traditional China, to take a case of marked contrast, such interper-
 691 sonal conflict, far from being relished, was deliberately avoided. The Chinese
 171 considered going to court to be an extravagance, and the village judge was one
 of the most underemployed members of the community. In China, parties to a
 dispute preferred to assemble at the teahouse and to seek a solution through
 discussion and negotiation. The Amhara, on the other hand, seeks to maxi-
 mize the opportunity for self-assertion through litigious disputes.* Ordinary
 sociability among the Amhara is saturated with references to litigation. Cur-
 rent court cases comprise one of the more common topics of conversation.

*121 Beyond litigation, *conflict* is often expressed in more violent forms. Fights
 181 with the *dulä* erupt when altercation becomes too heated. Throwing stones is
 571 another accepted mode of combat, especially among youth. Protracted en-
 578 mities tend to eventuate in such acts as house-burning, assault with swords or
 [691] rifles, and (according to Amhara belief, at least) poisoning.
 [521]

While it is true that Amhara culture provides means and a certain amount

* Some indication of the gross national significance of this phenomenon is afforded by the following comparison: twenty-seven high court judges are sufficient to handle the litigation for all of England and Wales; the corresponding number for Ethiopia is one hundred and eighteen.

632

[796] motives of piety and supplication, to the saints' epony-
[346] mic churches. Within the environs of Gondar, for ex-
ample, there are forty-two churches, and perhaps half
are of sufficient antiquity and fame to mark them for
special visits on the saints' days. Each of the market
towns contains at least one famous church. The larger
towns are, moreover, the seats of their sub-provinces,
and are the objects of visits by peasants on "govern-

- [691] ment" (mongist) business. Most frequently, this means
[423] litigation involving the disposition of land rights.

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Two Rural Hamlets. Tikurmidir and Lemmariet are
neighboring hamlets, situated on fertile dega lands. To-
gether they occupy the southwest quadrant of Kidus
Yowhannis parish (hamlet and parish names are pseudo-
nyms), a three hour walk from the awraja seat, Dabat
town, in the Woggera region. Of the two, Tikurmidir is
larger:

	Tikurmidir	Lemmariet
[161] [592] Total population	151	95
Total households	36	24

In both hamlets, a majority of households are headed by

[613] risteñas. These households are distributed among the
[592] hamlets' ambilineages as follows:

		Tikurmidir	Lemmariet
Ambilineage	I	18	10
Ambilineage	II	6	1